"The second route which the northern Eskimos follow is inland to Lake Tahiryuak, which is roughly about ten miles in diameter and studded with islands of every shape and size. It lies approximately in lat. 69° 50′N. and long. 112° W. Several families of the northern natives usually come here each summer to meet the Puivlik Eskimos from the south, though sometimes they meet about thirty miles to the southwest at the small lake of Numikhoin in the Colville hills. (1) In the summer of 1915 we waited several days at this latter place hoping that they would join us; when they failed to appear we went on to Lake Tahiryuak, where we met two families that had just arrived from Prince Albert sound. When the first family appeared on the first day of June all the Puivlik natives lined up on top of the bank overlooking the lake to give them a welcome. The leading man of the visitors called out as he drew near us, ilanaitut? 'Are the people friendly?' and the Puivlik natives all joyfully shouted, 'Yes, they are friendly.' One of our party, Kesullik, then rushed down the slope, and wrestled with one of the visitors, pretending

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"1. In December, 1914, a Puivlik Eskimo promised to guide me to the Kanghiryuarmiut the following spring. It was too cold to cross the hills in winter, he said, while the route round the coast (via Cape Baring) was too long."

to push him away, and exclaiming nunaga, nunaga, 'It's my land,' while the visitor answered tikittunga, 'I have reached it, I have come.' Every one was greatly excited, [52] and gathered, laughing, around the wrestlers. Some of us were strangers and had to introduce ourselves, so the leader of the Kanghiryuarmiut came and stood before each one of us in turn and asked us our names. As soon as the introductions were over we helped the newcomers to drag up their sled and unload it, then watched them set up their tent, after which we all filed inside and ate of their food. Two of the Puivlik men in the afternoon erected a dance-house of snow, roofing it over with skins and with the sheet that covered my sled, since the temperature at this time of the year would not permit of the usual dome of snow. The ceremonial dance of welcome took place in the evening though everyone was eagerly watching for the second family of the northern natives to arrive. This did not happen till midnight, when a little girl ran out to meet them and assure them that they were welcome, while the rest of us remained on the bank. Again we filed into their tent and ate some of their food, but the dance that was to be given in their honour was postponed till the following day."

1: Jenness--55 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 609, 648

"Little need be added to Mr. Stefansson's descriptions of the manner in which strangers are welcomed. (1) The shouting of taima as a sign of peaceable intentions seems to be a Hudson bay usage not employed by the Copper Eskimos among themselves, although they are doubtless fully aware of its meaning. (2) The ordinary method of signifying peace is to hold up the arms so that the strangers may see you are carrying no weapons. A party of Noahognik Eskimos, coming down to the coast in the early fall of 1914, found us established at Bernard harbour. They approached our tents to within about 200 yards, and, standing in line on the crest of the ridge, alternately raised their open hands above their heads, and, stooping, lowered them again towards the ground, thus signifying that they had lain their weapons on the ground and held nothing in their hands. We laid our rifles on the ground (we had been hunting seals), returning their gestures, and twice again they repeated their signs as we approached.

"1. My Life with the Eskimo, p. 172, 190 et seq.; Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, pp. 235, 301. Cf. Parry, Vol. II, pp. 165-6."

"2. [AW: this footnote misnumbered in original text] See Hearne, p. 379; Douglas, p. 204."

In November of the same year I engaged a Noahognik native named Aksiatak to guide me to the Puivlik settlement across the strait. Skirting along the coast of Victoria island we fell in with four Eskimos, all coming from different directions. Aksiatak ran ahead at top speed, flinging up his arms to indicate peace; the four Eskimos likewise started to run, converging towards their settlement. Soon my companion was hidden from view behind a ridge, and when I came up with him about a mile farther on he and the strangers were together. The four natives gave the peace signal as I approached and arranged themselves in line, the tallest man on the right. He told me his name, I told him mine, and the process was repeated all along the line. Then we started out again towards their settlement. As we drew near, Aksiatak ran ahead with a local native on each side of him, shouting 'White man, white man,' while the other two ranged themselves on either side of me and told me to run also. Men and women and children immediately began to pour out of the huts and rush to meet us. All the men and some of the women introduced themselves one after another, pressing round me in an excited throng; then an elderly native led me into his hut.

The presence of women in the party is a sure sign that no hostility need be apprehended. The custom of carrying a knife when going to meet strangers has often been

noticed. (3) It is done even when the visitor knows there is nothing to fear. As a Coronation gulf native expressed it, 'We carry knives in our hands when we go out to welcome strangers, just as the Netsilingmiut greet them with a buffet in the face. They have one custom, we have another.' The visitor is always expected to confirm the good relations by presenting his hosts with some of the food he has brought, and they in turn send him dainty portions of whatever they happen to have on hand. A dance is given to welcome him during which he is especially marked out for honour by some leading man in the community. The compliment is returned on the following day when the visitor and his people give a dance in return. Trading may occur at any time after the visitors have settled down in the camp and eaten some food."

"3. [AW: this footnote misnumbered in original text] See Back, p. 381; and Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A.M.N.H., Vol. XIV, pt. I., p. 264."

1: Jenness--91-92 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 423, 609

"The land is the property of the community which uses it as a hunting and fishing ground. Strangers have no rights there unless they are accepted as members of the tribe for the time being, and conform to its customs in such matters as the sharing of food. No Copper Eskimo family, of course, would dream of [92] holding itself aloof, because without the assistance and guidance of the local natives it might starve to death through ignorance of the best fishing and hunting grounds. Natives from the Coppermine river basin and even from Bathurst inlet remained in Dolphin and Union strait throughout the spring of 1916 in order to be near the expedition; but they joined the local natives at their fishing weirs as soon as the salmon began to migrate, and merged themselves for the time being into the foreign community. The expedition refrained from using these weirs as long as the natives were there, but after they had left we caught a number of salmon in them, and no objection was raised; nor did the natives disapprove of our using nets in their rivers, or shooting the caribou, but only because it was obviously to their advantage that the expedition should remain in their country. Had food been scarce at the time they would have expected us to share our food with them, or at least to refrain from diminishing their own supplies by hunting and fishing in their territories."

2: Stefansson--229-230 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
574, 609, 117

"May 13. Following Trail of People toward Victoria Island. Started 2:30 P. M. on trail of people leading towards Victoria Island after moving Pannigabluk who did not want to go and then camped east about half mile to some wood. Main trail perhaps two months old and hard to follow, but one new sled track, about two weeks. At about 4:30, some eight miles from our camp came upon a village of houses, which showed by fish spears, etc., that people intended returning. From roof of one house saw with glasses three men, some three miles northwest, sealing evidently. Headed for nearest. Before getting to them, saw a deserted village about in our former course, 320° by compass, some five miles from one first seen. Getting near first man B. and I halted team while T. went ahead to try not to frighten him by all approaching. The man sat on his snow seat bent forward as if watching for seal, occasionally raising his eyes only not his head to T. When T. got within some paces man suddenly stood up, seized an iron snow-knife that lay on the snow beside him, and poised himself as to receive an attack or to be ready to spring forward. This scared T. and he went no nearer, but started to talk. The other never smiled or paid attention for some time repeating monotonously (about twenty times a minute, as often as one breathes) he-ha-ha-ha, etc. Evidently he at first understood nothing of what T. said, but he soon began to. Then he began talking and T. did not understand. T., however, knew from Kalakutak (who was both with Mogg and Klinkenberg) a Victoria Island phrase; i-ly-er-a-nait-tū-ar-al-u-it (they are good)

which he then used, and showed by lifting his coat he had no knife. After about five minutes of parley Igxslirki laid down the knife and soon after began an examination of T.'s clothing, which seemed to satisfy him we were harmless he had probably heard of 'calico' from Victoria Island people. He then told T. to tell B. and me to follow a little way behind while he went along a line of sealers to tell that we were ilyeranaittuaraluit. We came near forgetting to remove our goggles. If we had, I don't think our first meeting with these people would have gone well. The village proved to be southwest about three miles, we had gone past it. [230] When we arrived within a hundred yards of the houses, they asked if we would camp near them, or a little way off on account of the dogs. We preferred to be a little way off and as many as could get at it turned-to to make us a snowhouse. (4)"

"4. [Stefansson's comment, p. 452.] On p. 229 and elsewhere the people who built this Bexley village are called Victoria Islanders. We later learnt that the people most numerous were the Akkuliakattagmiut who may be considered at home when at Bexley. Next in numbers were the Haneragmiut of the Victoria coast west of Simpson Bay and Noahonirmiut of the mainland near the narrows of Dolphin and Union Straits. There were a few representatives of several tribes farther east. The village was a trading rendezvous."

2: Stefansson--231
181, 576, 609, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"May 14. General Characteristics of the People. The people, as Mogg's and Klinkenberg's people report from Victoria Island, are apparently of superior type. They look clean as compared with Baillie, for instance, and are models of good behavior. In fact, have manners towards strangers such as I do not suppose any white men have ever honored themselves by showing to any branch of the Eskimo race. There is interest, but no forward curiosity shown with regard to all the strange things we have and do; no laughter at a dialect which must seem funny to them; the greatest courtesy in everything, --the best seal for the visitor; the first choice of food; continual expressions of friendship; no questions as to why we came. No spitting out and calling 'bad' food we give them to taste, though all say 'We are not used to it and do not like the taste.' The same with smoking. 'We do not expect people from far away to have no manners different from us, so go ahead and smoke,' but several have had to leave the house when T. and B. smoked together. Continual invitations to come and eat though they are short of food, got three seals yesterday for thirty-eight people, an average catch, and continued bringing presents of blubber for our lamp and meat to cook, small pieces, for there is little to give. The snow today keeps melting in holes from sun, and each house is carefully patched as it appears, our clothes are carefully brushed of the least particle of snow in entering a house. On could particularize endlessly, but the sum is courtesy and good breeding with generous kindness."

2: Stefansson--240-241 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
181, 576, 609, 117

"General Characteristics. While they probably once had an organic connection with the people towards Cape Lyon (and one indeed has a mother from 'far west') their present movements seem to be restricted to less than fifty miles of coast and to the strait ice just north of them. Some spend an occasional summer in Victoria Island with the Haneragmiut or the Puiplirmiut farther east. This is a very confined sphere. Perhaps this has had a strong influence. At any rate, after allowing for their not well understanding our speech, I am inclined to consider them somewhat less intelligent in general than any I have before seen. Eskimo everywhere are little interested in the oustide world; these show practically none. But as their intelligence is less, so their general kindliness and good breeding is far beyond anything I have before seen. Of course, I have seen only 'civilized' and mostly christianized people heretofore.

Their generosity was always prominent, and the expression of it was monotonous. Perhaps because of difficulty of conversing and a distaste for remaining silent, considering it impolite they kept constantly repeating 'We hope you are having enough to eat.' 'We want you to be content [241] (not lonesome) while with us. We are therefore trying to feed you well, for a man with a full stomach is seldom discontented. He is well off who is well fed,' etc. These were endlessly repeated. I believe some of their phrases have a status similar to our proverbs, for their phraseology was almost never, if ever varied. Whenever one of these sentences was uttered, most or all present acclaimed

with '1-yarr-li̇̆,' which we do not understand exactly, but which clearly is akin to our 'amen,' 'so it is,' 'so be it.' When we left we took with us a number of small pieces of meat, presents, and their last words were inquiries if it was enough and urging us to speak up if we wanted more. It has been noted that they have little themselves, especially since they have neglected sealing largely since we first came. When we were not five miles off they were spread all over the ice, hunting in earnest for the first time since we came.

Modesty is not among their conspicuous virtues, however, for as often as they expressed friendliness (which was about every five minutes) they would say 'ĭlyi̇̆ranaitturut' 'koyanaktūrut,' 'nagōyūrut tamapta' and when they spoke of other groups, 'They are excellent people, just as good people as we are.' They are as monotonous in this self-praise as in their good wishes to us, etc. It is to be noted, however, that the connotation of these phrases is not so much that they are an excellent, superior people, as that they are harmless, friendly, not to be distrusted. A phrase much used by the Hanerágmiut and occasionally by the Akuliakattagmiut is 'naunaittūrut' which literally, nĕllūnait turut, we are easily seen, easily discerned from afar, but which I suppose denotes 'easy to see through,' 'not given to underhand and secret practices,' 'not treacherous,' really as we appear.'"

3: Rasmussen--10 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 177, 609

"Our meeting with the first man was quite unceremonious but quite characteristic of these people, [MPK: the Copper Eskimo] who seem to live on a constant war footing with all strangers. While labouring to make our way into the little bay so that we might save time by driving over a point, I had climbered up a hillock to reconnoitre, when suddenly I caught sight of a young man jigging for cod on the ice. Scarcely had he seen me when he hauled up his line and disappeared at a run round the point. A moment later he reappeared, this time carrying a brand-new Mark 1920 repeating rifle, evidently ready to let it speak if I did not come as a friend. The misunderstanding was soon dissolved in laughter, and, almost as if we had known one another for years we were now able to make our entry into his camp. From the furnishings and utensils in his snow hut it was easy to see that we could not be far from the trading post. Fine blankets, the best of the Hudson's Bay Company's stock, were spread about the platform along with rugs of much more useful material in this land and climate--caribou skin. Enamel dishes had replaced the fine, blubber-shiny wooden trays that are made of driftwood; aluminium pans took the place of stone pots, and even the handsome Eskimo lamp of soapstone had had to surrender to a shiny basin of tin.

Up on the platform, sitting cross-legged, was a young woman in a magnificent caribou-skin jacket, though its beautiful colour effect was entirely concealed by a red overall of calico. Her hands were weighted with gaudy 'shop'rings, and between two fingers she held a fragant 'Lucky Strike' cigarette with almost blasé nonchalance."

3: Rasmussen--13 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 574, 609

"On the twenty-second of November 1923 we arrived at Malerisiorfik, where the Umingmaktôrmiut had built their camp of snow huts in the shelter of a mountain. There was a terrific snowstorm blowing and although we were greeted with a deafening clamour by the dogs, it was some time before the people could discern us through the billows of snow that washed over our sledges. All the men turned out at once and started to build a large snow hut for us. The women attended to Arnarulúnguaq and led her into their warm dwellings, where they treated her with the most perfect hospitality and also the curiosity due to a woman who speaks the language of the country and yet comes from a village so very far away. As soon as we had moved into our new house -- about an hour later -- all the women came, one after another, and gave us meat or salmon as a gift of welcome. In all modesty we protested against all this food, which gradually became a huge pile on the side platform, but to no avail: no one desired to break the custom of the tribe towards guests who were welcome. This cordiality and helpfulness -- an outcome of their great, inborn hospitality -- did not wear off all the time we were among them."

6: Roberts and Jenness--13 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
619, 721, 609

"Two subjects are noticeably lacking [JMR: in dance songs], war and love. The Copper Eskimos had not advanced beyond the blood-feud, and organized war was beyond their conception. Neighbouring bands were connected by blood and marriage, and their only enemies, the Indians in the south, were rarely seen and carefully avoided."

11: Stefansson--172-173 (1908-1902) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 574, 609

"As we proceeded toward the village other seal-hunters gradually converged toward us from all over the neighboring four or five square miles of ice and joined Tannaumirk and his companion, who walked about two hundred yards ahead. As each of these was armed with a long knife and a seal-spear, it may be imagined that the never very brave Tannaumirk was pretty thoroughly frightened--to which he owned up freely that night and the few days next following, though he had forgotten the circumstance completely by next year, when we returned to his own people in the Mackenzie district, where he is now a drawing-room lion on the strength of his adventures in the far east. When we approached the village every man, woman, and child was outdoors, waiting for us excitedly, for they could tell from afar that we were no ordinary visitors. The man whom we had first approached--who that day acquired a local prominence which still distinguishes him above his fellows--explained to an eagerly silent crowd that we were friends from a distance who had come without evil intent, and immediately the whole crowd (about forty) came running toward us. As each came up he could say: 'I am So-and-so. I am well disposed. I have no knife. Who are you?' After being told our names in return and being assured that we were friendly, and that our knives were packed away in the sled and not hidden under our clothing, each would express his satisfaction and stand aside for the next to present himself. Sometimes a man would present his wife, or a woman her husband, according to which came up first. The

women were in more hurry to be presented than were the men, for they must, they said, go right back to their houses to cook us something to eat. [173]

After the women were gone the men asked us whether we preferred to have our camp right in the village or a little outside it. On talking it over we agreed it would be better to camp about two hundred yards from the other houses, so as to keep our dogs from fighting with theirs. When this was decided, half a dozen small boys were sent home to as many houses to get their fathers' snow-knives and house-building mittens. We were not allowed to touch a hand to anything in camp-making, but stood idly by, surrounded continually by a crowd who used every means to show how friendly they felt and how welcome we were, while a few of the best house-builders set about erecting for us the house in which we were to live as long as we cared to stay with them. When it had been finished and furnished with the skins, lamp, and the other things that go to make a snow house the coziest and most comfortable of camps, they told us they hoped we would occupy it at least till the last piece of meat in their storehouses had been eaten, and that so long as we stayed in the village no man would hunt seals or do any work until his children began to complain of hunger. It was to be a holiday, they said, for this was the first time their people had been visited by strangers from so great a distance that they knew nothing of the land from which they came."

11: Stefansson--178 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 609

"They understood perfectly, they said, why we had left behind the woman of our party when we came upon their trail, for it is always safest to assume that strangers are going to prove hostile; but now that we knew them to be harmless and friendly, would we not allow them to send a sled in the morning to bring her to the village?"

11: Stefansson--279-280
116, 198, 609

(1908-1912) 1913

Copper Eskimo

"When we got within about half a mile of the houses, our companions began to communicate with their fellows in the village by the use of one of the few examples of sign language in existence among these Eskimo. The signs consist in one member of an approaching party running a few yards to one side of the sled and stopping, and then running across the trail until he is as many [280] yards on the other side and stopping again. This is repeated several times and signifies that friendly strangers are coming. This sort of signaling, they told us, is never done by the strangers themselves, but always by local people who have joined the party of the strangers, just as these three people had joined ours."

11: Stefansson--280 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 609, 574

"The sign was quickly understood in the village, which in its entirety came running to meet us, --men, women, children, and about half of the dogs, while the other half that happened to be tethered howled loudly and plaintively. It was a crowd that I later estimated at considerably over two hundred. The village was large, and as each came from his own house and some were fleeter of foot than others, they did not come upon us in a crowd, but it was only a few minutes until we were completely surrounded so that further progress was impossible. Most if not all of them shouted, talked loudly, and ran holding their arms higher than their heads, opening and closing their hands continually to show they carried no weapon, and saying, 'You need not be afraid of us,' 'We have no knives,' 'We are glad you have come,' and things of that sort."

22: Richardson--356 (1848-49) 1851 Copper Eskimo
116, 201, 609

[AW: Not applied particularly to the Copper Eskimo]

"Almost all savage people are excellent mimics, and the Eskimos are not defective in this accomplishment. They imitated our speech and gestures with success and much drollery; and the men excel the other native Americans in the art of grimacing. When they wish to defy strangers who intrude into their country, they use the most extraordinary gestures and contortions of the body and limbs, making at the same time hideous faces. This was evidently practised systematically to terrify invaders; for such as resorted to it on their first interview with us, the moment that they were made to understand our friendly intentions, instantaneously relaxed their features into a broad, good-natured grin, and came alongside our boats without further hesitation."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

837 A stranger in an Eskimo tribe
609 was a potential enemy who could be killed at sight;
628 but by this system of temporarily exchanging wives the natives could travel in safety from one end of the country to the other.

114 So Mrs. Snow-Knife, or Mrs. Wealthy, as she now became for a few days, accompanied us to the village of the "People of the Land on the Other Side." She arranged the skins and meagre furniture of our snow-huts, tended the lamp, and boiled the seal meat for our
574 evening meal. I witnessed her meeting with her two
593 sisters, one much older than herself, the other a maiden of about fifteen years. She herself rejoiced without effusion; the maiden displayed more interest in the white man's sled than in the sister of whom she had heard nothing for nine months; but the eldest woman sat in her hut and wept copiously throughout the evening. They were typically human in their outlooks, these three sisters dwelling where the midday twilight and the midnight sun follow each other season after season. The young girl was just beginning life and her hopes were all in the future; Mrs. Snow-Knife had been married several years and held both the past and the future in an equal balance; but the eldest woman, though still in the prime of life, bore the stamp of hardship on her face and her mind was already looking backward.

574 The "People of the Land on the Other Side" were
535 too hospitable not to hold the usual dance in our

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

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Knife's answer seemed plausible enough at the moment, and I made no further enquiries. Later I began to doubt his story, for what priest would give his Latin breviary to a savage? Palaiyak then told me, too, that he had seen a cassock and a crucifix in another hut. There must have been foul play somewhere. Had the Eskimos robbed the missionary? Had they murdered him?

I questioned Knife again a few weeks later, but he merely repeated the same story. A corporal of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police attached himself to our party the next autumn, and the following spring an inspector brought in a patrol from Great Bear Lake. Then the grim story came gradually to light.

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Two French missionaries, Fathers Rouvier and LeRoux, passed through Great Bear Lake in the summer of 1912, charged with the establishment of a mission among the pagan inhabitants of Coronation Gulf. They began their ministrations on the Dismal Lakes, whither a few Eskimo families drifted in search of caribou; but the Eskimos vanished to the northward with the coming of the first snows, and the priests were left in solitude all winter. The natives visited them again the following summer, and the priests, determined not to lose sight of them, accompanied them to the coast. Trouble arose almost immediately. The

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

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Eskimo with whom they lodged coveted one of their rifles, and became openly hostile when they refused to part with it. His kinsmen supported him; other natives took the side of the two missionaries, and the camp was divided against itself. One of the elder men advised the missionaries to depart; he lent them one of his dogs, helped to load up their sled, and himself escorted them for the first two miles until the danger seemed over. Then he returned to the settlement, and the priests continued their way alone up the Coppermine River.

Two hunters who left the settlement the next day followed their trail up the river. Years later they declared that they went to help some kinsmen who had not yet descended to the coast. Whatever their real purpose, they overtook the priests not far from the ill-omened Bloody Fall, and agreed to haul their sled as far as the first timber in return for a few fox-traps. All day they pulled ahead of the dogs, and at evening built two snow-houses, one for themselves and one for the priests. Both parties spent the night in misery, for their clothing was damp with perspiration, and they had no fuel to mitigate the intense cold. They struggled ahead in the morning in the face of a blinding snow-storm, which drove them out of their course. The Eskimos, not accustomed to work for others and weary of the heavy hauling, wanted to abandon the priests; but the latter dared not let them depart,

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

knowing that without aid they themselves could never reach the timber. One priest went in front to break the trail, the other marched behind the sled, threatening the natives with his rifle whenever they halted or turned back. The terrified Eskimos plotted to kill them and watched for an opportunity. When the priest behind them slackened his guard for a moment they leaped upon him with their knives, stabbed him to death, and shot his companion with the rifle. Then they cut open the bodies of their victims and ate the livers, a gruesome custom general among nearly all Eskimo tribes to render the spirits of the dead innocuous.

The hunters now returned and reported their crime to the people at the mouth of the river, who ascended to the scene of the murders and plundered the sled. Knife was not present on this occasion, but the following summer, while we were establishing our base at Bernard Harbour, he and his kinsmen pillaged the missionaries' cabin at the Dismal Lakes. Several Eskimos in this village that Johansen and I were visiting held property belonging to the priests, and the ringleader of the two murderers actually entertained us in his house. Strangely enough, we were greatly impressed by his bearing, and considered him one of the most enterprising and reliable natives that we had yet encountered.

Police arrested the two murderers about eighteen

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

797 609 648 months after my visit and carried them south for trial. Both men were sentenced to death, but the penalty was later commuted to two years' imprisonment. They were ultimately restored to their homes, where one of them, profiting by his experience of civilization, rendered useful service to the new police posts that were established in Coronation Gulf.

609 The news that white men were wintering in their country not eighty miles away caused a great commo-
609 tion among the villagers. They anticipated a renewal
437 of their profitable trade with Captain Bernard four years before, and hastily prepared to migrate en
492 masse to Bernard Harbour. Before dawn a long file
489 of sleds, laden five and six feet high with the family possessions, streamed slowly over the snow in the direction of Locker Point. Wives and daughters pulled in front of the dogs, urging them on with frequent cries; fathers and sons hauled behind them, giving added encouragement with their walking-sticks. Here an old woman staggered feebly along, clutching the sled for support; there a dog running loose dragged an old man
(854) at the end of its trace. A nine-months-old baby slept peacefully on top of a load, enveloped in a caribou skin to protect it from the wind. Far in the rear came Knife's big sled, loaded to its full capacity, and trailing a smaller sled laden almost as heavily. Wealth has its disadvantages in the Arctic also; Knife could hardly

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

the booming of the drum. Were there no war-songs, no chants of victory? They asked me what war meant, for they knew of no enemies except the Indians far to the south, whom they seldom saw and carefully avoided. Surely, then, there were love-songs, songs in which the youth declared his passion and praised his fair one's beauty. No, life was hard, marriage a necessity for all. The maiden must wed a hunter who could provide her with food, clothing, and shelter, and the youth must seek out a bride who would prepare his food and sew his garments. If couples failed to agree, they could separate and find other mates. Beauty, that soon faded, did not help them in the struggle for life's necessities, and romance was stifled. The dance-house was the social hearth. There they chanted their prayers to the mystic powers that controlled the weather, that could shatter the ice-fields or withhold the game; and there, in song, they narrated their adventures and retailed the news from distant tribes. The incantations were their prayers, the dance-songs their chronicle of current events. Ikpuck sang of our polar-bear hunt, and song and story spread far along the coast, growing more garbled and unintelligible at every stage of their journey. The words of his song mattered little; every dancer could improvise new syllables, like the foreigner who sings Italian opera. What counted most was the new melody, bringing joy to the hearts of a people who found in music their